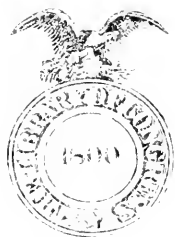


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SPEECH  
OF  
JUDGE BURBANK,  
IN THE  
SENATE OF CALIFORNIA,  
FEBRUARY 7th, 1861,  
ON THE  
UNION RESOLUTIONS.

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## SPEECH.

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MR. BURBANK—Mr. President, when I first saw the sun of this beautiful morning, shedding its light over the world, and its genial influences upon all mankind, I thought, sir, that it would be very proper to consider its origin and its purposes, and it seems to me, Mr. President, that the more any man considers the origin of that luminary and its purposes, the more he will honor its author and appreciate his blessings. The light of that luminary lights up the world, and its genial influences give life, and health, and vigor to all living things. It was observed, yesterday, by the Senator from Mariposa (Mr. Merritt), that this was not the time, nor the occasion, for the consideration of the Constitution, or its purposes, or the rights that spring up under it—I do not give the exact language of the honorable Senator; I give the sentiment that his language conveyed. I do not mean to misrepresent a word, or a thought, of any Senator of this body; but it struck me at the time that the Senator so said, that he was entirely mistaken in the object of this discussion. How can we properly consider the resolutions before us unless we consider the Constitution itself, and its purposes? The very object of this discussion has a direct reference to the Constitution itself, and the Union of these States, and the rights and the privileges that have grown up under it, and also the abuses of the Constitution which are supposed to exist. If there was nothing, Mr. President, upon this occasion about which we should be concerned, why are we here to-day discussing anything? If there is nothing wrong, why should we spend our time so needlessly, and without a purpose, in discussing resolutions of this nature? I disagree with the Senator from Mariposa. I think that it is of the first importance to consider the origin of the Constitution and the Union, and its purposes, in order to know how to feel and how to act in relation to that sacred instrument. I think that it is well to consider what the influences of this Union and Constitution have been upon a nation of freemen. I think it is well to consider, when that instrument is in danger, how much would be lost if it was broken asunder. How is it possible that we can consider its value without taking into consideration these matters—its importance of itself, its consequences, its benefits, its injury if lost? When the Senator from Mariposa says that King George III. made a mistake when he said that the thirteen Colonies must be coerced into subordination, what are we to understand by that? I suppose the Senator from Mariposa wishes this Senate to understand that he conceives there is a parallel between the relations of King George III. and the Colonies in 1776, upon one hand, and the Government of the United States and South Carolina on the other. If the Senator from Mariposa means that I understand him; if he means anything else than that, I do not understand him. What, Mr. President, did the Colonies complain of? What does South Carolina complain of as against the General Government of this country? Where are the complaints? Who has published them? Who has known them? Who has felt the wrong of this Government upon any portion of the Union? If so, what are these wrongs? Who has held them up for the examination of mankind? Let us see for one moment what the condition of the thirteen Colonies was

in 1776, and see if we can find any parallel between their relations to the crown of England, and the relation of South Carolina to this Government. Mr. President, we must look into this matter, and see, if there is any, what that relation is. The people, sir, of the thirteen colonies, had good causes of complaint, and they made them known to the world. They published them, and while these causes of complaint existed, no human power could coerce the people to submit. What did King George do? What were those complaints? Let facts speak for themselves, and we shall learn the relations which existed between the crown of England and the colonies of America: "The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States." Does this Government undertake to exert an absolute tyranny over any portion of this Union? "He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good." Has the Government of this country, of this Union, done any such thing as that? "He has forbidden his Governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation until his assent should be obtained, and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them." Has this Government done any such thing as that towards South Carolina or any other State? "He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless these people would relinquish the right of representation in the Legislature—a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only." Where has this Government been guilty of any such wrong from its beginning to the present day? "He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the repository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures." Look abroad upon our Government, from its origin to the present day, and say if anything like this can be charged upon it. "He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people. He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise, the State remaining, in the meantime, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without and convulsions within." Is there, I ask, anything like this in this country? Has this Government exercised any such unwarranted authority? If so, where has it been exhibited? "He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws of naturalization of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands. He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers. He has made Judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries." Has any such thing as that been done toward South Carolina, or North Carolina, or any other State? "He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance. He has kept among us, in time of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our Legislatures. He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power." These, Mr. President, are some of the causes, some of the reasons why the Colonies rose up as one man and declared to the world that no power existed among men by which they could be compelled to bear these evils, and submit to this oppression. Are these causes similar to any action taken by the General Government toward South Carolina, or any other State? And yet the Senator from Mariposa says that King George made a mistake when he refused concession. Why, sir, these abuses, these insults, were continued for years, and a generous and noble people objected over and over again, for years. Why is King George brought into this issue, except to show that he stood in the same rela-

tion to the Thirteen Colonies that this General Government stands in towards South Carolina? We may as well meet the fallacies presented in this issue, first as last. No man need come here and pretend to discuss the sense of these resolutions, and then fly off at a tangent and discuss something else. The time has come when that kind of dodging woud do. The people of this country call upon their public men for firmness, and call upon the Senator from Mariposa to stand up like a man and vindicate the Constitution of his country against every wrong, and every invasion, and every insurrection, and every treason, let it come from where it may. If a man, Mr. President, is a Union man when the Union needs no help from his hand, and then is no Union man when the Union is in danger, let such men be few and far between. The time has come, and now is, when he that is for the Union of his country is for the Union of that country when that country is in peril. The Senator from Mariposa has told us, Mr. President, that we are in the midst of a revolution. He says, too, perhaps with great truth, that that revolution is going on; it is marching onward. What does he propose to do to stop that revolution? What does he propose to do to stop treason, if it exists? What does he propose to do to resist rebellion, and to maintain, I hope, the supremacy of the law of the land? Has he made any proposition to do this? If he has, I have had the misfortune not to understand him. I would not pay so much attention to what that Senator said if indeed I had not some respect for him, and if indeed I had not some respect for the country that he and I both live in. That Senator says, with emphasis, that the way to meet this present difficulty—the way to meet this threatening attitude of affairs—is clear to his mind. He says, and I think he distinctly recommends, that the way for the Government to proceed is to proceed not at all. And it is fairly to be inferred from what he says, that if any State, or any portion of a State, should attempt to tear down the National Capitol while the Stars and Stripes wave over it, his voice would be the same; that the same protective power that he invokes now—in action and supineness—he would invoke then. That is the Senator's position. Now, if that is reasonable, if that is right, let us all embrace that position, and let that Senator be the champion of the Constitution upon that ground. Let him have the honor and the name of suggesting the right mode of preserving the Union in the midst of peril. But, Mr. President, if that Senator will run the hazard of taking ground against the Union by his argument, let me say to him that he sleeps his last sleep politically, that he has fought his last battle, and no sound can awake him to glory again. [Laughter.] Any man who on this occasion, in this crisis, in this extraordinary condition of things, takes ground by argument or position against the Union and the Constitution, may read his political destiny in the setting sun. But, Mr. President, let me not abuse or misrepresent one word that that Senator said, or one hair of his head. There is no beauty in discussion, there is no honor in argument, if we are to leave the truth of the argument and plead to what it does not contain. I mean to hold the Senator to the record. I mean that he shall come upon and abide by his record. I say his argument is an apology for what has been done against this Government. Let me not misrepresent the Senator. When a man makes an argument in this country, or in this body, he must be bound by that argument. The words it contains must explain themselves. So stands that Senator's argument, and if it has strength in it, if it has patriotism in it, let it live forever; but if it has neither, let it die its death. Suppose, Mr. President, that any patriotic man was tired of this Union. Suppose that he did not believe in its virtue or its strength. Would he say so at this particular juncture? Would he be prepared in the present condition of things, and the present feeling of the country to say that he was opposed to this Union and this Government? Not at all. What would he say? He would probably instead of saying that, find an apology for its overthrow, find an excuse for rebellion, an excuse

for treason. Is the Senator aware of what has taken place in this country within a recent period? He has not referred to the acts that have been done against his own country. He has not intimated that anything wrong has been done. He has not told this Senate that he disapproves of a single act of South Carolina. And at this particular juncture, if he did disapprove of the acts done there, why not say so boldly? If there is anything wrong in one part of the country, why not let the sentiment of the country rebuke the wrong? Is not that right? Is not that the way to let a wholesome public sentiment be felt? Certainly, that is the advantage of the intelligence, and that means of intelligence, which a representative government has over all others.

Whilst I refer to South Carolina, I may be addressing men from the Palmetto State, and I mean to do it with respect for those men and with proper respect for that State. I base these remarks upon, and I couple this argument with, the idea that South Carolina this day is one of the sister States of this sisterhood of States. I base it also upon the idea that the people of South Carolina are the people of this Union upon this lovely morning. I also am free to acknowledge, free to say, that the people of South Carolina are bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh. It is with this idea that I address my remarks to the Senate upon these resolutions, and if I did not have that sentiment, and that feeling I would let the resolutions all go to the shades; they should not occupy a moment of my time. When I speak of the acts of South Carolina, I speak of them as her own acts. When it shall appear that those acts are wrong, let South Carolina know that we think so, and if South Carolina has any regard for our opinion, she may profit by it. But whilst we, like the Senator from Mississippi, say nothing in relation to these acts at all, neither condemning them nor approving them, how can the Palmetto State know how we regard her acts? I can tell the Senator that I have friends in the South, and that I have relations in the South; and as a northern man, I know no difference between the sunny plains of the South and the bleak mountains of the North, and never will I know any difference when I am discussing a national question of right or policy. How could these resolutions have been introduced with any propriety at all, unless it were true that somebody, at some time and under some circumstances, in this nation, had done some wrong to the Government? What sense, what reason, what philosophy, what anything, could be found in the resolutions, unless something wrong had been supposed to be done? Now let us consider what has been done, and who has done it. If it is right, let us commend it; if it is wrong, we will condemn it. Is it true that South Carolina, within the last six months, has been collecting arms and ammunition, the implements of death, to be used against somebody? Is that true? I so understand the Senator in substance. Why is all this done in a time of peace, when there sits at the head of the Government the very man that South Carolina put there? It is against her own Government and the Administration of her own choice that she has acted. Is it true that South Carolina has bid defiance to the power of this nation? Is it true that South Carolina has fired her cannon upon an American ship, over which the Stars and Stripes floated, a ship over which the insign of our country was unfurled to the breeze? Has she done that? Has she repeatedly fired upon that ship, when it was under the direction of the President of the United States, and for purposes lawful and proper? The Senator from Mississippi has not referred to it. I suppose these are the facts which we have come here to discuss, to see what they should lead to, and what should be done to avert the coming storm. If we did not come for some such purpose as that, we had better dismiss the resolutions. Now, so far as that Senator is concerned, or his motives are concerned, let it be understood that I charge him with no improper design. I charge him with a mistake. I charge him with taking a position unwarranted by the present state of the country and un-

warranted by the circumstances of the time. But that Senator was pleased to say, and he did say, that it was an extraordinary thing to his mind, that some men who now hold up their hands high for order and union and the supremacy of the law, were found a little while ago trampling upon that very law. He says that is extraordinary to him. It may be so. If that Senator says that in San Francisco the law of the country was violated, I shall not dispute him. If he says that he found me among six thousand men acting in opposition to the law of the country, I will not dispute him. If he says that I was found there, with those six thousand men, without my name upon the record, I will not dispute that. If he says, further, which may not be the case, that my name is upon the record, I will not deny it. And if it will suit the Senator any better to say that he wishes my name put upon the record, I say to him let him put it on to-day, and it shall stand the same as if it had been put on in 1856; I will never dispute the date of its being put there. But when that Senator turns to San Francisco, and the six thousand men collected there at the time doing acts contrary to the laws of their country, I ask him to look at the circumstances. Does not that Senator well remember that those six thousand men of San Francisco did not propose to secede from the State of California? The six thousand men of San Francisco never proposed to leave the Union or to leave the State. They never proposed to resist the Government because the Government had injured San Francisco. What did they propose to do? Those six thousand men proposed to do this: When the law of the country was found insufficient to protect life and property in that city; when blood stained every street in San Francisco; when the people, in spite of the existing law, were startled from their beds by the midnight cry of "Murder," over and over again; when the streets ran red with blood in the day time from the hand of the assassin, and the law was found insufficient to give protection, those six thousand men rose up—an act never to be denied by me—and took their own business into their own hands for the time being, to save life and property from the destruction which the law could not prevent. Now, let the Senator charge me with being there, and at the same time let me call his attention to another thing. Where was that Senator, and what did he say, about that time? I hold him to the record. The Senator from Mariposa (Mr. Merritt) can scarcely expect that he can charge upon me inconsistency without my referring to his record, and to what the honorable Senator did about those days. Is it true that in 1856 he recommended that the force of this State, its military power, should be called upon to put down that rebellion? Does he deny that? Is it true that he recommended that Commissioners should be sent from this State to the City of Washington, to see the President and get the forces of the United States to come down and see whether they could not put an end to that rebellion—to see if there was force enough in this State and the United States which could be gathered together, to do what? To vindicate the law of the land. Do I misrepresent the Senator?

MR. MERRITT—Entirely.

MR. BURBANK—How entirely? The Senator says that I misrepresent his position. If I do, I have been misinformed in what I understood from others. Then I understand the Senator to say this, that he did not disapprove those acts, and did not advise resistance and compulsory measures to coerce the people back to order. Will the Senator answer the question whether he did or did not?

MR. MERRITT—I will answer the Senator that I advised nothing about it. I was not connected with the Government, and could give no advice about it.

MR. BURBANK—I ask the Senator if he took any stand at all at that time?

MR. MERRITT—Yes, sir, I did—against it.

MR. BURBANK—Exactly; he took a stand against it. Why? Because he was for the vindication of the supremacy of the law against all people who should trample

it under foot, even for temporary purposes. That was his position, I think. Now, if that was his position then, why has he changed? Would it be wrong for San Francisco to rise up in opposition to the law of the land for any purpose, and right for South Carolina? Do not the two stand upon the same footing as to the matter of right? Can that Senator, with all his wisdom, and philosophy, and argument, show to me, and show to the satisfaction of the people, that a rule which would justify a movement in opposition to San Francisco would uphold South Carolina in firing into a United States ship? How will the Senator answer that? That is a matter for him to take care of. I say it is not words alone by which we judge men; and a man, when there is no danger to the country, no danger to the Union or the Constitution, may say "Union"—he may write a book in which there shall be no other word than "Union"—and what will it amount to at a time when the Government stands in no need of help? If, when the Government does stand in need of help, the same man writes a book in which the word "Union" does not appear within its lids, what kind of a Union man would that be? I hope there will be very few such in this country.

Now, if the Senator will pardon me, I will pay my respects to another Senator. What I have said with regard to the Senator from Matiposa (Mr. Merritt) has been said in no unkindness to him. I give my opinion of his record, and that, I think, is fair debate. I regret that the honorable Senator from El Dorado (Mr. Crittenden) is not here. That Senator, the other day, in discussing these resolutions, gave one important piece of information to this Senate. He said that he loved South Carolina, that he was born there; that there he saw the first sunlight; that there he breathed his first breath of air; that he loved that State, and would always love it, and always defend it. In the expression of that sentiment, that noble feeling, the galleries caught the sympathy, and gave a responsive applause. My own heart felt it when that Senator said he loved his State, and loved his mother, and loved his native land—and I responded that is right, the same everywhere. But after he had said all that, I could not help asking myself what, upon the whole, it proved. Why, sir, it proved this: that if the Senator spoke his sentiments, it was really true that he was born in South Carolina; that it was absolutely true that he loved that State, and that it was also true that he would defend her—that is what it proved. But how much did it prove on this question, whether South Carolina was right or wrong? That is the question. How much proof did that Senator give of his opinion upon whether that State was right or wrong? I might say that I loved the State of Maine, and I do. I was born there. I was born where the sun rises, and I live near where it sets. [Laughter.] It has been said that where I lived was so far East that the people had to hitch a tackle to the sun to get it up in the morning. [Laughter.] Be it so; be it so. Could I help where I was born? Had I anything to do with the place? A man is born, and he finds himself there before he knows it. [Great laughter.] A man can no more help being born in Maine than he can help being born in South Carolina or Virginia. It is all the same. Charge it upon no man that he was born in any particular place. If he says he was born all along the coast, how in the world can we help it or blame him? [Laughter.] So much for the Senator from El Dorado (Mr. Crittenden), a youthful Senator, a Senator that loves his country, that loves the Palmetto State, and loves his mother, loves his father, loves the place where he first drew breath, and loves the place where he first saw the light of the sun. He has given us that information, and I thank him. But he has given us no information as to the State of South Carolina, and what she has done, or whether he approves her acts or not. He simply says he will defend her. How will he defend her? We come here to inquire whether South Carolina is to blame or not; and if a man comes here to argue anything else, that argument is hardly pertinent to the issue. The Senator from El Dorado himself, who was born in South Carolina, in the Palmetto State, did not say that he approved of her act in firing upon a United States ship.

The PRESIDENT *pro tem.*—The Chair hopes the Senator will address his remarks to the Chair.

MR. BURBANK—Mr. President, I am happy to address the Chair. I mean to address the Chair in the language of truth and soberness. Once in a while, Mr. President, it is a little relief to turn from the President and look upon my countrymen. [Laughter.] The President himself is one of our good citizens of the country; but he is not all the country. [Laughter.] I shall be entirely under the direction of the President, and entirely obedient to his suggestion. I have a word or two to say to another honorable Senator whom I see here. I have a great deal of respect for that Senator—the honorable Senator from Napa (Mr. Edgerton). He interested a large audience the other day, as I am not able to do, and about matters and things upon some of which I would not undertake to interest any audience. I will be a free man, and discuss the subjects which I think ought to be discussed. I will say in relation to that Senator, however, that he made an argument creditable to himself—creditable to his genius and industry. He discussed, however—it is not improper for me to say so, perhaps—those questions and subjects which I supposed had been absolutely settled twenty-nine years ago. The necessity of discussing those particular things which have been settled so long was a matter of taste for that gentleman. I will say, that the Senator may not misunderstand my motives, that I am an older man than he, not a wiser. I was twenty-one when the subjects of nullification and secession were discussed in our country twenty-eight or twenty-nine years ago. I took an interest in that discussion—in what General Jackson said, in what Mr. Webster, Mr. Clay, Mr. Benton, and all the great men of that day said on those subjects. It is all familiar to my mind at the present day, and I had supposed that if any question could be settled by mortal man or by human power, that the question of secession and nullification was then settled in the minds of the whole American people. Therefore, as to this question I have no discussion to make. I take it for granted it has been settled long ago—a long time ago. [Laughter.] But that is not what I will particularly call the Senator's attention to at this time. I hold the Senator to his record, and I will bind him to the record, and he must stand by the record or fall by it. It is not allowed a man in this body to make a record and not stand up to the record. He must stand up to it here; he must stand up to it in the presence of his constituents, and must be responsible by it to his country. When I said I did not intend to enter into a political party debate in discussing this question, I said what I meant; I did not intend to let party issues come in here. Whether Douglas was right or wrong—whether Buchanan is the greatest, wisest, best man in the world, or not—I did not mean to discuss; for, in view of the elevated subject we are discussing—a subject in which the whole country takes an interest—I did not intend to enter upon any questions of mere party considerations. But, sir, the Senator from Napa was pleased to say certain things to which I take exception. Traveling out of the line of argument, he says that the Republican party is in the last agonies of death; he says that the Republican party has the Greeleyisms in it, and the Sewardisms, and the Sumnerisms, and that they are as poisonous as the upas tree to the prosperity of the party and the country. He says, too, that the Republican party has against it the Supreme Court of the United States. He says that the Senate of the United States is against it. He says that the House of Representatives of the United States is against the party, and that it is in the last expiring agonies of death. Who, I ask, told the Senator all this? What book has he found it in—what almanac—what spelling-book? Not Webster's, for I read that myself. [Laughter.] What testament, new or old, contains any such idea as to the weakness of the Republican party, and proclaims, as the Senator thinks, that it is in the last expiring agonies of death? But, Mr. President, there is one thing to be considered. When

I, or you, or any Senator, has made a proposition, after it is made it stands there to his credit or discredit, as the case may be, and he must stand upon the record. Now, I ask, does the Senator from Napa estimate power? How does he estimate weakness? How does he estimate agony? [Loud laughter.] Perhaps he can tell us. But he says that the Republican party is so weak that it did not get but a little over a quarter of a million majority in the Northern States. But a little more than a quarter of a million—is it possible? Is that an indication of weakness? Is that an indication of sudden death? Is that any indication of the last agony? How much majority did Douglas get over the same ground? I never heard of any. Perhaps the Senator from Napa has heard that Douglas is elected President of the United States. I never heard of it, and if the Senator from Napa should say that he is elected, while I should not doubt his sincerity, I should doubt the correctness of his history. Perhaps the Senator from Napa has a rule for estimating the strength and weakness of a party, and if he says that a majority is an indication of weakness, and a minority an indication of strength, then I say to the Senator, by that rule he will probably, in a short time, have the strongest party in the land. [Laughter.] Now, I ask the Senator what kind of agony the Douglas party is in? Is it a dying agony or a living agony? And, as the question may put the Senator in a little dilemma, I will help him out. The condition of his party is this: The Douglas party has been ailing and in a bad state of health for a long time, and is getting no better very fast [laughter]; and if it is true that the party is to be restored to health, it will be an extraordinary instance of recovery under circumstances indicating constitutional debility and rapid decline. Mr. President, I object to this declaration made by the Senator from Napa in relation to this supposed weakness of the Republican party. And I call the Senator's attention to another circumstance: When he says the Supreme Court of the United States is against the Republican party, let me tell the Senator that the Republican party has something on its side. When he says that the Senate of the United States is against the party, let me remind the Senator that the Republican party has something on its own side. Why, sir, it has sound political principles. It has a President of the United States and a Vice President in a few days, in a few days. [Laughter.] And it has something more upon its side—it has the people. Is the party very weak? Is it a very inconsiderable party? Is it in the last agonies of death? Does the Senator suppose the party is starving? Does not the Senator see, as is usual after Presidential elections, a host of good men marching up to the public crib—do you think they are going to starve? Is the Republican party made up of such weak men, so modest, so retiring, so diffident in their manners, they can't march up to the public crib? Sir, they are not going to die of starvation. And there is another thing to be considered in this charge against my party—I am a Republican. I never meant to ask that Senator what party he belonged to; but he forces me into it, and requires me to say what I think of that party. He has told the country what he thinks of it. I notify that Senator that six months ago the Republican party raised its banner to the breeze with no disunion on it. It unrolled its platform of principles and exposed them to thirty millions of freemen, and those principles were considered alongside of the Douglas platform of principles, and by the side of the Breckinridge platform of principles, and by the side of the Bell principles, if they had any. [Laughter.] Thirty millions of people considered all these platforms—not in one day alone, but in half a year of days. Every stump, every field, almost every church and school house in the land was a forum of debate upon those principles that were spread out before the people for their consideration. They were all debated fairly, for certainly the Douglas party is not wanting in talent—there is a wonderful evidence of what I say [pointing towards the Senator from Napa, Mr. Edgerton]. It is not wanting in philosophy of a certain kind. It is



not wanting in history. It is not wanting in eloquence. Why didn't you advocate those principles better? Why did you not make the people believe—these thirty millions of people, whose interests are dear to them—interests which concern them as a nation and as men—why did you not make them believe that your principles were right? Ha! you tried it! and after a fair consideration of a great and generous people, after all arguments the people decided—the free people of this country made a decision. What was it? They decided, after looking over the Douglas principles carefully, coolly, deliberately, honestly, that they could not accept them. They were compelled, they say, to reject them. That is the decision on that point. They looked at the Breckinridge principles with equal care, with equal solicitude, with the Administration and the money on its side, and with the high prestige of the name of Democracy. Still the people said upon the whole they would be very glad to support the old Democracy if they could see it; but they could not support its principles, and they rejected that platform, too. So it was with Mr. Bell—not that Senator Bell [pointing to the ex-Senator of Alameda, who was sitting near], because that Senator always rings out a better sound. What did these people say? Has that Senator (from Napa forgotten? Only on the sixth of November it happened. What did the people say? Thirty millions of people said that they would take the Republican platform and its principles, and would acknowledge them to be the ruling principles of this country for four years. That is the verdict. Now does that Senator (Mr. Edgerton) suppose that he has power enough to convince the Republican party to-day that that is not a good verdict? Does he suppose, because he raises his voice here and proclaims weakness in advance, that it is weak, therefore? Not at all. It is not weak, sir. [The President in the chair.] The Senator from Napa (Mr. Edgerton) has been pleased to say that Sewardism, Greeleyism and Sumnerism are a poison to the party, of which the party must die. Such is the sentiment of that Senator. These isms, he says, are to sting the party to its death; and he says, substantially, that they are enough to crowd a party down and put it in the last expiring agonies of death. Is that true philosophy? What has Senator Seward done that he should poison any party or any country? Does that Senator (Mr. Edgerton) point out anything against Senator Seward? Does not Senator Seward this day stand up among thirty millions of freemen, the tallest of them all perhaps? What has he done to hurt this country? What has he done to hurt any party? The gentleman is silent on that subject. What has Horace Greeley done that he should be an incubus on the party? Where is there a man of more intelligence, except the Senator from Napa (Mr. Edgerton)? [Laughter.] Where is there a man of more extensive information and broader ideas, and more patriotic sentiments than Greeley, except the Senator from Matiposa (Mr. Merritt)? And what has he against Sumner, the man of Massachusetts? Why he says Sumnerism is a poison. What has Sumner done? Is not he a statesman of the highest order? When that Senator from Napa can meet the arguments of Charles Sumner, and refute them—then what he says will be of some consequence. [Laughter.] When he will make a record of his own, showing that the principles of Charles Sumner cannot be supported, and must be refuted, and that he can refute them, he will be the tallest man in California, perhaps in the United States. I would go for him for the next President, if he will do it, and if he will do other things as well. It is a little remarkable that the Senator from Napa should select three perhaps of the most distinguished men of the Republican party, perhaps the ablest men, everything considered, in America at this day; men of high principles, sound intelligence, undoubted integrity, the deepest loyalty to the Government, and the most unalloyed patriotism—and say that these three men are an incubus to a party and rank poison to its success. When the Senator from Napa (Mr. Edgerton) will produce

from the Douglas party three as good and as able men, then he might have some reason to say that there are better men than those three, if those that he selected were better. When he produces three men from any party in this country that are more able, that are wiser, that are more patriotic, more respected, higher in the order of intellect—when he'll do that, I should like to be introduced to them. This country would like to have their services. Any party would be proud of them. But while those men I have referred to stand high in the nation's eye and in the nation's heart, it takes more than the mere assertion even of the Senator from Napa (Mr. Edgerton) to blast their fame or their reputation. Now, Mr. President, perhaps it is true that I have said as much in answer to the Senators as I ought, and as much, perhaps, as the nature of the case requires. I have endeavored to meet what they have said that was objectionable in my mind. Now, sir, I ask that the resolutions under discussion be read.

The SECRETARY read the resolutions reported by the Committee.

MR. BURBANK—I will now undertake a discussion of the resolutions. I do not know that I shall be able to enlighten the Senate upon the questions embraced in these resolutions. I cannot tell how much difference may exist in the minds of men as to the degree of importance in which the subject matter of these resolutions is to be regarded. Difference of opinion may be honestly entertained as to the causes which have led to the present condition of affairs. The same difference of opinion may be found to exist as to what consequences will follow the present extraordinary antagonism of South Carolina to the Constitution and laws of the United States. How the present crisis should be met is a consideration of momentous interest. Whatever its causes may have been, whether real or imaginary, whether induced by the prevalence of Northern sentiment, or by Southern sentiment, the time has come when an uncommon event has actually taken place. In the origin of our Government, the men who framed it were not ignorant of the principles of human action. Their patriotism led them to hope for uninterrupted prosperity and unbroken harmony. They fondly hoped, as they looked into the future of this Government, that the fire of patriotism would in all coming time warm the hearts and strengthen the hands of the American people. They devoutly hoped that the warm life-blood, that the battle fields of the Revolution had copiously drunk in, would cement a Government too pure, too sacred for the touch of treason. They hoped that this Government would secure for ever the blessings of that liberty for which a Washington fought, a Warren fell, and a Henry plead. The great purposes of our Government are clearly and distinctly stated in the Constitution. Let the Constitution speak for itself, and tell the purposes for which it was made. "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America." Here are the purposes of the organic law of this nation. So says the Constitution, so stands the record. The people ordained this Government for these purposes, and is not this record true? Did not the people, in their highest capacity, form a more perfect Union than that which was formed by the old confederation of States? Under the old confederation, the States entered into a league of friendship with each other. So stands the record. This league was made in 1777. A very few years of experience showed to the people that a simple league of friendship between States could not act directly upon the people, and was not a people's Government; and in 1787 our present Constitution was formed, ordained and established by the people, and it is a more perfect Union. It makes the people of all the States one people. They become the bees of one hive, with separate cells. Destroy the hive, and all the cells are exposed to one common

ruin. Our Constitution spreads its protecting power over all our domain, all our homes, all our separate properties and interests. It provides for the general welfare. It is intended to insure domestic tranquillity. All the great purposes of the Constitution have been secured—have been realized from the very date of its origin to the present day. And it is for the men of this day, of this age, in this juncture, at this crisis, to determine whether these great vital purposes for which the Government was ordained, shall still continue secure. It is for us to say whether the blessings of liberty shall be secured for us and for our posterity, or whether those blessings of liberty shall be forever lost to us and to our posterity. There can be no reasonable doubt in the mind and the soul of any true American, how this question ought to be determined. The grass-grown graves of our fathers, the monuments upon the battle grounds where brave men fell and liberty rose, the ensign of freedom that proudly floats over this capitol, our families and firesides, and the God of Liberty call upon us at this time to be men worthy of our sires, and worthy the liberty their valor won. This is not the time, this is not the day or the hour to discuss the questions of secession and nullification. Nearly thirty years ago these questions agitated our whole nation. From Maine to Louisiana, and from the Atlantic to the lakes, the whole people were one great Committee of Inquiry and Investigation. The intellect, the wisdom and learning of that day were invoked, were called upon to discuss and determine these questions. They answered to the call. They did discuss them and determine them, and if, in the course of human events, it is possible for men or nations to make a final determination of any question, a final determination of the questions of secession and nullification was then made by a nation of freemen. Many men are now living who then felt the shock. The thunder of nullification shook the very hills, and filled the country with alarm and consternation. Nullification then threatened the Constitution, and defied its power. Nullification then had its representatives; it then had its advocates. Vice and wrong are never without their representatives—never without advocates—never without their sympathizers. Aaron Burr had his admirers, and Benedict Arnold had his friends. So had nullification its advocates and friends. What action did the people take at that time? What stand did the General Government then take? What said the President of the United States then? General Jackson may indeed have had his errors, may have had his enemies; he may not have been entirely perfect; but the General was a brave man, and a lover of his country. He was a patriot of the highest, noblest order. What stand did he take? He was for the Union, and against its enemies. He declared that the Union must and should be preserved. If General Jackson had no other claim upon his country's gratitude, but that noble stand he took when the integrity of the Union was threatened, for that alone he would be entitled to an undying gratitude and an imperishable fame. "*Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.*" He was ready to breast the storm, to face the danger, and if need be to die gloriously in defense of the Great Charter of American liberty. May his great name, and his noble deeds forever live in the hearts of his countrymen. And while all true patriots shall find encouragement in his example, may the enemies to free government and our Constitution take warning and profit by it. Let the enemies to the Constitution remember that though General Jackson is dead, his spirit lives, his name lives, his word lives. All these live, and are this day and this hour preparing the minds and hearts of the people to follow his example and preserve the Union, so that no star shall fade from the bright constellation of stars—so that no beam, or post, or brace shall be torn out of the great framework of the Constitution. I hope I shall be excused from making an argument at this time to show that secession and nullification are impossible. I assume that it has been proved beyond a reasonable doubt that secession and nullification can never take place while our Constitution stands and the

Stars and Stripes wave over our National Capitol. And let us not forget him who defended the Constitution nearly thirty years ago. He sleeps in his grave at Marshfield. But it is not all of him that sleeps in the grave. He also has a record; he also has a history; he also has a name wide as the earth, deep as philosophy, and powerful as eloquence. Such a man, though he be dead, still lives. In the day of storm and peril General Jackson looked to Daniel Webster for support, and he did not look in vain. When the lion of the Constitution started from his lair and shook from his mane the dew-drops of the morning, the tiger of secession slunk away into its hiding place. When the Constitution, through the lips of Webster, spoke in its power, nullification was hushed into silence. The voice that came up from the Constitution that day is in the ear of the American people this day. That voice will always speak, and nullification is dead. It is buried, and no voice can call it from the grave. Nullification needs no refutation at my hands. Secession and nullification grew upon the same soil, were nurtured by the same hands, they die the same death, they are buried in the same grave. They were not without power in their life time. They had power enough to destroy their own advocates. They had power enough to arouse a nation of freemen. But they have not power enough to destroy our glorious Constitution. When we turn our thoughts to the past, and by imagination survey the storm of 1833—when we see the flashes of lightning shooting across the political sky from the dark and threatening clouds, and hear the pealing thunder shaking the institutions of our land—we must not forget the Sage of Ashland. In that storm of storms, Henry Clay rose up, and lifted his lofty form above the warring elements, above the clouds themselves. His voice was heard. It rang out in tones of patriotism and eloquence. A nation listened, a nation was convinced, a nation was calmed. The storm was hushed, the clouds dispersed, and the bright sun of liberty and peace rose more bright and more beautiful than ever before. Henry Clay! may his voice never die! May his love of country, his love of the Constitution, his love of the Union, live in our hearts! May it animate the whole American people in all coming time! Be it so—and the Constitution and the Union will outlive the groveling schemes of ambition, will outlive the strifes of party, and the jealousies of sectionalism. They will outlive the prophecies of kings, and emperors, and autocrats—and they will outlive the works of rebellion and treason. They will outlive everything but the happiness and glory of mankind. There is no secession within the broad circumference of the American Union. But sir, there is a revolution. That revolution will either be a successful revolution and subvert the Government of the American people, or the American people, by the power of this Government, must resist and overcome the revolution, and assert and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution and the laws. In my judgment this is a statement of the case. This is the case, and we may properly consider the evidence which belongs to this case. I suppose that certain facts belonging to this case are admitted, and if admitted, need not be proved. It appears to be admitted that South Carolina has denied the right of the General Government to exercise jurisdiction over the persons, property or territory of that State; that she declares herself to be a free and independent State; that she owes no allegiance to the American Constitution; that she will defend herself in the maintenance of this position against the power of the General Government; that she will obey no ordinance, law or act passed or to be passed by Congress; that she will resist any attempt of the General Government to compel her obedience to the Government and laws of the United States. I understand it to be a fact that the people of South Carolina have taken Fort Moultrie from the possession of the General Government; that she threatens to take Fort Sumter; that when an American vessel under the flag of the Union and under the direction of the President of the United States, having on board men and supplies for Fort Sumter, en-

tered the harbor, South Carolina fired upon that vessel, and fired into that vessel, and by an armed force prevented the landing of that vessel at the port to which she had been sent by the authority of the Government of the United States. I understand it to be true that South Carolina, for more than six months last past, and in time of peace, has supplied herself with arms and munitions of war, for the avowed purpose of using them against the General Government. I believe it is admitted that South Carolina has done all this. This, then, is the case to be considered, to be met; and it needs no prophet to foretell how it will be considered by the American people, and how it will be met by them. One of the grand purposes of the American Union was to insure domestic tranquillity. Regarding it as a well settled proposition that secession is impossible, it follows that South Carolina is yet in the Union, and a part and portion of the Union, as well as Massachusetts or New York. Can any man doubt that the domestic tranquillity of the United States has been disturbed? "The Constitution provides that the Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all the treaties made or which shall be made under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land, and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding." What is the opposite of domestic tranquillity? Insurrection upon any acre within the jurisdiction of the United States is the opposite of domestic tranquillity. An attempted revolution within the borders of our General Government is the opposite of domestic tranquillity. A wanton violation of the supreme law of the land is the opposite of domestic tranquillity. How can the General Government insure domestic tranquillity, while it allows the supreme law of the land to be trampled under foot? When the organic law of this nation declares its purpose to be to insure to all the people domestic tranquillity, how is it to be supposed that tranquillity can be insured while insurrection is allowed to destroy that tranquillity? When the purpose of the Constitution was to establish justice, how can that purpose be carried out if Courts are broken up and Judges hauled from their seats, and the supreme law of the land is set at defiance? Can it be supposed that the men who made and ordained our Government, and in it declared the purposes for which it was ordained, did not intend that these purposes should be carried out? Can a Government exist a single day without the power in itself to make laws and carry those laws into effect? When the Constitution declares its purpose to provide for the common defense, is it to be supposed that this common defense means nothing but a defense against a foreign power? When our Government is attacked, or threatened, or assailed, or put in danger by any power at home or abroad, is it not to be defended? Will the people of this nation defend her flag on the land, and on the sea, against all foreign powers on the globe, and at the same time say to the rebellion: "Tear down the flag of your country, sink the national ships and burn the national Capitol, if you will?" and is all that to be done without an effort to save them—without a struggle? What will the American people say to that? What will an American freeman, of whatever party or from whatever State, say to that? South Carolina has no more right to tear down the American flag than England has—no more right to fire her cannon into an American ship than France has; and if South Carolina will fire into an American ship under an American flag, is there no way to prevent her? Is there no way to rebuke her? Is there no power in our Government to maintain the laws of the land? Is there no power to punish treason, to quell insurrection, to stop rebellion, or to maintain the supremacy of the laws of the land? I think there is ample power to do all this; and I am the man who is not afraid to say it—certainly not in a land of freemen. When one Senator, the other day, asked another if he meant to say that no force could be used, the Senator said, in reply; "Did you understand me

so? Then you are mistaken." I will not be mistaken in what I mean to say. In my humble judgment, when the American Government, in the plenitude of her rightful power, shall speak to South Carolina as nations sometimes speak to treason and rebellion, her voice will be heard and obeyed. The voice of our National Government should have been spoken long ago, and in tones that could not be misunderstood; and if that had been done, universal tranquillity would be enjoyed at this hour. When the Government is compelled to resist a domestic enemy, it is to be done with a majesty and power equal to the emergency. It should compel all that obedience that the general safety and general good of the people require. It should never ask rebellion how long it intended to rebel; it should never ask the traitor how much more treason he intended to commit; it should never ask the leaders of a revolution how much of a revolution was intended; but it should stop it at once, and effectually. When it is asked how it is to be done; how treason and rebellion are to be stopped—when it is asked, it ought to be answered, and answered, too, by every man who has an American heart in his breast, a man who loves every inch of his country, and her whole people. It must be answered—there is no escape. You may answer it to-day, or you may delay it to-day; but you are bound sooner or later to answer that question. Why not ask how to sail a ship? To that question I would answer: I would sail her, if I had the power, in such a manner that she would reach her destined port. In a spirit of kindness and dignity I would make the crew do their duty while the stars and stripes should float from the masthead. I am free to answer the question "How shall treason and rebellion be met and stopped?" My answer is: "Let the supremacy of the law of the land be maintained all the time, and in all coming time." And I thank no man to stand aghast and hold up his hands in holy horror at my answer. If there is such a man here, I would ask him how long, to the best of his belief, it would take him and all others like him, in that way to quell an insurrection or seditious rebellion? When a hundred or a thousand men deliberately aim the most fatal implements of war and death, and discharge them upon the persons and property of the people of this Government, in defiance of the power of the Government itself, no man need ask what is the nature of the offense, or how it should be punished. I am one of the humblest members of this body; but I feel that a question is before us, and that question, by its decision, when made by the controlling power of the country, must affect, for good or evil, thirty millions of people. I am not unmindful that it should be discussed with that tone and temper which become a well-wisher of the public good. I have no motives to conceal. I have no convictions to smother. All who this day know my position in this crisis, may this day know where I shall stand in all coming time. My position is that we, the thirty millions of people, have this day a National Government, and that Government the wisest and the best that has ever blessed any nation upon the globe. And I will this day, and for the balance of my life, stand by the Constitution of our common country. And when war from without, or treason from within, would tear down that masterpiece of human wisdom that our Washington helped to construct, I will stand by the Constitution and defend it. It is only within a few short months that I ever supposed that we, the American people, could entertain any difference of opinion as to whether we have a Government; that American Senators could look one another in the face and ask if we have a General Government. While the Stars and Stripes float over this Capitol, and Washington [pointing to the portrait on the wall] looks down upon our deliberations, who is willing to say that the American people have no Government? Who is willing to say that it is lost, and lost without a struggle, and without an effort to preserve it? I say, who? I say it is not lost. We still have it. We will still hold to it, now and in all coming time; and we will uphold it in spite of treason and re-

bellion, come they from what quarter of the Union they may. This Government will stand the shock. Weak minds and weak men may not think so. Those who think that it cannot stand a shock do not know the throbbing, beating impulse of the great American heart. I tell you that when the question is presented to the American people, affecting their homes and every interest—the question whether we shall stand by the Union or not—they will rise up and say, “Let the Union be defended against every power that can be brought against it.” This Government will stand the shock and show her power, and will triumph over all her foes. When delusion and fanaticism shall have done their worst; when party spirit shall have exerted all its unpatriotic influences; when treason and rebellion shall have spent their utmost force, the people’s Government, the people’s Constitution will stand like a rock in the ocean, unmoved by the warring elements. Deeply fixed and imbedded in the hearts of the people, our Constitution will grow stronger and stronger, till its power shall be universally acknowledged and obeyed. It is for the enemies of the Union to say how much it will cost to defend and maintain this Union. It is for the restless spirits of the land to say how long it will take to secure to the people that domestic tranquillity which the Union was intended to insure. It is for the violators of the supreme law of the land to determine what it will cost to vindicate the supremacy of the law. That is a question for them to answer, and not for me. They best know the extent to which their resistance is intended to be carried. They best know their own purposes, and they best can tell how much it will cost the Government to defeat their purposes and maintain the Union. Gentlemen need not ask what it will cost to save our national integrity and national honor. I cannot tell what it will cost. I cannot make the estimate. But I can tell what national liberty did cost. It cost the blood of the Revolution, seven years of grim-visaged war with all its horrors, millions of treasure, and the graves of thousands of patriots, whose love of liberty laid bare their bosoms to the shafts of death; and we fondly hope that the same love of liberty warms and animates our hearts this day, and we devoutly hope that the same love of liberty may animate the hearts of the American people in all coming time. But it is not alone the cost of freedom that fixes its value. The improved condition of a mighty nation under its influence, the happiness and prosperity of the past, the present, and succeeding millions of men, compel us to regard the cause of liberty and union as the cause above all other causes, of immeasurable magnitude—the cause not only dear to us as American freemen, proud of the ensign of liberty, and of its blessings, too; but dear, also, to millions of oppressed and down-trodden people in other lands, who look to the success of free institutions in this country with the deepest solicitude. They know full well that if liberty in America, planted by the right hand of a Washington, and watered by the life-blood of as brave men as ever fought the battles of their country, cannot thrive, cannot mature, cannot stand the great test of the great experiment of self-government, then it will be in vain for any land or any people to hope for the success of liberty and free institutions. I will not attempt to determine what it will cost to restore harmony, to insure domestic tranquillity, to give a fatal rebuke to treason, to put down rebellion, and to vindicate the supremacy of the law of the land. Let other men fix in their own minds the probable cost of all this. If the treasonable acts of any one State, or portion of a State could be measured by the geographical limits of the offending State, South Carolina would then stand in a position a thousand times less dangerous than her present position. Then her disgrace would be the disgrace of South Carolina. Then her loss would be the loss of South Carolina alone. Then her character would be the character of South Carolina. Then her disloyalty would blacken her own history alone. Then her future would be the result of her own rashness and folly. But the acts of South Carolina cannot be so limited. The people of the American Union, in

the State of South Carolina, insulted the American flag, set at defiance the law of the land, and fired upon a Government ship to defeat the lawful purposes of the Government. The deep-toned thunder of rebellion and treason pealed upon the startled ears of thirty millions of people. Can any man doubt what pulsation of the great heart of the country must follow that deep-toned tocsin of war and defiance? It is not the character of South Carolina alone that is touched by the roar of that cannon. The character of the whole nation feels the shock. The American Union not only has a character at home to sustain, but she must maintain a character at home that will command respect abroad. Treason and rebellion may rise upon a single acre of American soil, but their unhallowed influence will reach the remotest corner of the civilized world. Rely upon it, when the American flag can with impunity be insulted at home, it will find no respect among the nations of the earth. As it is with a man, so it is with a nation. If a man has no respect for himself, how shall he ask others to respect him? Let no man infer from this argument that there is no national regard for Carolina. That the Union has abandoned her, and has no other feeling towards her but feelings of harshness. This is not the fact. Let England send her ships of war to Charleston, to invade South Carolina, and New England would be there in ten days, to drive old England into the sea, and to defend South Carolina against everybody but South Carolina herself, as against all the foreign nations of the earth. South Carolina has a friend on every acre of ground in America. Treason, sir, is not hostility to your enemies; it is hostility to your friends. When it is said that we must not stop the rebellion; that we must not speak out in potent tones against the revolution, it is also said that if the nation so speaks fraternal blood will stain the Palmetto State, and that a conflagration of war will sweep over the Republic. It is well to remember that the people of the thirty-three States live under a system of Government. It is not a despotism. This system cannot be broken in part without being broken in whole. Destroy any part of this grand system, and you have no system left. In this grand system of our Union, each State has its orbit, and cannot rush out of that orbit without bringing destruction upon the whole system.

"Let earth unbalanced from her orbit fly,  
Planets and suns rush lawless through the sky."

I would by all means avert the dread catastrophe of warring States. I would avert the awful scene of human woe, when,

"Like lava rolls the stream of blood,  
And sweeps down empires with its flood."

If harmony cannot be restored now, farewell to liberty, farewell to the Union, farewell to America and her hopes, farewell to the home of the brave and land of the free. The power of the General Government acting within its legitimate authority must stop the mad career of South Carolina, or South Carolina will break up this Union. The Union must control that State, or that State will control the Union. In my judgement there will be, in a few short months, but two political parties in the United States of America. One party will be for the Union and the other party against it. All former issues will be swallowed up in this grand issue. He that is not for the Union will be found against it. Every man must decide for himself. There never was a time in the history of this Government when political wheat and political chaff could be so completely separated as now. The smut and mildew of political weakness and political corruption will be sifted out from the solid wheat of political integrity and solid patriotism. On one side of this issue will be found the guardians of liberty, the lovers of the Union and the defenders of the Constitution. On the other side you may find men who believe that Washington, Franklin, Lang-



don, King, Johnson, Hamilton, Livingston, Dickinson; McHenry, Carroll, Madison, Williamson, Pinckney and Baldwin, were not so wise as the men of the present day, and that those men did not understand what form of government was best calculated to secure the blessing of liberty to themselves and to their posterity. You will find men who have not confidence in the constitutional doctrines of Madison, Jefferson, Wright, Cass, Jackson, Webster and Clay on one side. On the other side you will find the solid men of the nation, with fixed homes and fixed principles, and a joyous hope that their children's children shall enjoy the blessings of our liberty and our Union for ages to come. On the other hand you will find the restless spirits of filibustering ambition, the lovers of agitation and the advocates of secession and nullification. On the one side you will find the men who feel a deep responsibility and attachment to the great institutions of our common country, and will stand by them, uphold them and defend them. Men will take sides in this issue according to their political character. We know this must be so. The strength of our Union must depend upon the strength and devotion of its supporters. Let the friends of our Union be calm and wise in their deliberations. Let no unbridled passions dethrone their judgment. Let no party jealousy pollute their love of country. Let no political heresy shake their wonted faith in the wisdom of our fathers. Let our whole country be the controlling theme of our political solicitude, and all will be well and the Union shall be preserved.

Would to heaven that each and every man in our whole country, at this time and in all coming time, could feel that deep and glowing patriotism which swelled and moved the great heart of a great statesman, upon a momentous occasion, as he spoke out in tones of eloquence never to be forgotten: "When my eyes shall be turned to behold for the last time the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious *Union*; on States dissevered, discordant, belligerent, on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood! Let their last feeble and lingering glance rather behold the gorgeous ensign of the Republic, now known and honored throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original lustre; not a stripe erased or polluted, nor a single star obscured, bearing for its motto no such miserable interrogatory as, What is all this worth? nor those other words of delusion and folly, 'Liberty first and Union afterwards,' but everywhere spread all over in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds as they float over the sea and over the land, and in every wind under the whole heavens, that other sentiment *dear* to every true American heart—Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable."













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